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PUBLIC PAPERS.

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Report made to the First Consul of France, in the Senate, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Sitting of Saturday, the 21st of August.

The treaty of Luneville had produced the complete re-establishment of peace between France and Germany. It had, in an express and definitive manner, regulated the general relations between the two countries; and France being satisfied in every point, the entire execution of the treaty would not have required any ulterior regulation, had it not been acknowledged as just, and stipulated in due form, that the cession consented to by the empire, for the advantage of the Republic, should be borne collectively by the Germanic League; admitting nevertheless the distinction between Hereditary Laic Princes and Ecclesiastical Princes possessing only a life rent interest.

This principle being once established, it appeared that it belonged to the Germanic body to occupy itself spontaneously, and, without delay, with the mode of its application.

The sincere desire of the French Government, solely intent upon its internal affairs, was to take no concern in the adjustment of the promised indemnifications; and it confined its influence merely to repeated declarations that it was anxious to see the treaty of Luneville carried into complete execution by that of the VIIth Article. But its exhortations remain without effect, and more than a year elapsed without the least appearance of any plan being even commenced for the repartition of the compensations.

The non-execution of one of the principal stipulations of the treaty of Luneville left all Germany in a state of uncertainty, which became daily more embarrassing, inasmuch as pretensions and intrigues were forming and acquiring strength in proportion as the state of the public mind and public affairs exhibited more indecision. The kind of dissolution which affected the Germanic body, retarded the advantages of the peace to all Europe, and might, in some respects, endanger the general tranquillity. The Government of the Republic was not the only one impressed with this danger; and whilst it received from all quarters the applications of the parties interested in the repartition of the compensations, the Court of Russia testified how urgent it was, in its estimation, that the affairs of Germany should be brought to an adjustment. The Emperor Alexander, on his accession to the throne, felt the noble desire of contributing to maintain the peace which had been re-established; and an intimate concert, a frank and complete association of the most generous views, having promptly taken place between the First Consul and the Emperor, it was felt by them that the pacification of the Continent could

not be solidly guaranteed, but by carrying the treaty of Luneville into complete execution; and that this execution could not be accomplished but by the initiative and influence of the two powers perfectly disinterested, whose preponderant mediation might remove all the obstacles which had arisen in the course of eighteen months against the definitive repartition of the indemnities.

It was, therefore, solely for the purpose of sealing the pacification of Europe, and guaranteeing its stability, that the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia determined, by common consent, to interfere in the affairs of Germany, to effect by their mediation, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body.

This first point being agreed upon, a discussion was opened, and continued between the two Cabinets, to ascertain the ways and means which should lead to the desired result. It was resolved, that a general plan of indemnification should be presented to the Diet; and in digesting this plan the most scrupulous attention was, on both sides, paid to the means of compensating every loss, satisfying every interest, and incessantly conciliating the demands of justice with political expediency.

It was not, in fact, sufficient to ascertain the strict value of the losses sustained, and to proportion the compensations accordingly: the effects of the war having changed the internal equilibrium of Germany, it was necessary to think of the means of re-establishing it. The introduction of new Princes into the Germanic system, required new combinations. Nor was the real value of the compensations to arise merely from the extent, but in many cases from their position; and the advantages desirable to some powers from the concentration of their old and new territories, were in themselves an important consideration, and which, therefore, required to be attended to.

The two Governments, therefore, applied themselves to examine with scrupulous attention the question of the indemnities in all these relations. They felt that, if policy required the complete satisfaction of the principal houses, strict justice equally required that the States of the second and third rank should obtain a compensation for their losses, and the First Consul made it his particular business to maintain the rights of those who might have found the least support among the parties interested.

The perfect concert which had been formed between France and Russia, the happy result of the direct intercourse which the First Consul took pleasure in maintaining with his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, having presided in all these discussions, all points were speedily settled, and a general plan of indemnification agreed upon at Paris by the respective Plenipotentiaries, it received the approbation of the First Consul, and that of the Emperor.

It was determined that this plan should be presented to the Diet of the Empire, in the form of a declaration to be made at the same time by Minis-

ters appointed for that purpose. On the part of the First Consul, Citizen Laforest, Minister of the Republic to the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, has received orders to repair to Ratisbon; and on the part of the Emperor of Russia, the Baron de Bähler, likewise his Minister at Munich.

This declaration was to have been presented a few days ago, and the First Consul having ordered it to be read to him in the Senate, it will display the principles which have directed the two Governments, and the particular care which they have taken in their application.

In fact, the examination of the proposed plan will shew, that in the execution of a system which has for its object the consolidation of the peace of Europe, they have above all, applied themselves to diminish the chances of war. On this account, care has been taken to avoid all contiguity of territory between the two powers who have most frequently involved Europe in bloodshed by their quarrels, and who, being seriously reconciled, cannot now have a more ardent desire than that of removing all those grounds of misunderstanding which arise from neighbouring territories, and which, between rival States, are never unaccompanied with danger.

The same principle adopted, not in all its rigour, but as far as circumstances could admit, has also led to place the indemnities of Prussia beyond the reach of contact with France and Batavia.

From this arrangement Austria will have derived the immense advantage of seeing all her possessions concentrated.

The Palatine House will also have received an organization stronger and more advantageous for the purposes of defence:

And Prussia will continue to form, in the Germanic system, the essential basis of a necessary counterpoise.

The regulation of the secondary indemnities also proceed upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing has been omitted with respect to the consideration of ascertained losses. It will nevertheless appear, that the house of Baden has been more advantageously circumstanced than many others, but it was judged necessary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this instance the First Consul merits applause, as such a line of policy perfectly accords with the disposition of the French Government, which with pleasure sees an augmentation of power conferred on a Prince, whose virtues have long since obtained the esteem of all Europe, whose alliances so honourably distinguished his family, and whose conduct during the war, has particularly merited the good-will of the Republic.

It is also with real satisfaction that France and Russia, obliged to take the system of secularization as the basis of indemnities, perceive the possibility of preserving to the Empire, one Ecclesiastical Elector, and that they have proposed to assign him a suitable establishment, in conferring on him the title and functions of Arch-Chancellor.

It will be necessary farther to present to the Diet of the Empire some general considerations, as a proper basis for the internal regulations, which the new organization of the Germanic body will require. In this view, the First Consul and his Imperial Majesty of Russia, impressed with a desire to shew their sincere wishes for the consolidation of the peace of Europe, have not delayed to concert such a plan for the farther indemnities alluded to, as appears to them to include a basis and details as

strictly conformable to the spirit as well as to the text, of the treaty of Luneville; as can possibly be framed, as well as analogous to the political interests of Europe, and favourable to the preservation of peace.

The two governments, France and Russia, are firmly persuaded that the time which they have allotted will amply suffice for the discussion of the interests of Germany, and they will reap, in a long duration of peace to that Empire, the most agreeable as well as honourable reward for the exertions which they have respectively made to procure it.

(Signed) *C. M. Talleyrand.*

DECLARATION.

The First Consul of the French Republic animated with the desire of contributing to the consolidation of the repose and tranquillity of the German Empire, has thought that no means were more calculated to obtain that effect of his solicitude, than those of fixing, by a plan of indemnity, adapted, as far as circumstances would permit to the respective interests, an arrangement proper to produce this salutary effect; and a concurrence of views having been established upon this subject between the First Consul of the Republic and his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, he has authorized the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to concert with the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty of Russia, the means best calculated to apply the principles adopted for these indemnities, to the different demands of the parties interested. The result of this work having obtained his approbation, he has ordered the undersigned to make it known to the Diet of the Empire by the present declaration; a measure to which the First Consul of the Republic, as well as his Imperial Majesty, have been impelled by the following considerations:

The seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, having stipulated that the Hereditary Princes, whose possessions are comprised in the cession made to the French Republic of the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, should be indemnified, it has been agreed that, conformably to what had been decided upon at the Congress of Rastadt, this indemnity should be effected by means of secularization; but though perfectly agreed upon the basis of the indemnity, the States interested have remained so opposite in views with respect to the distribution, that it has hitherto appeared to be impossible to proceed to the execution of the before-mentioned article of the treaty of Luneville.

And though the Diet of the Empire has named a special commission to direct its attention to this important business, we see, by the delays which its assembling meets with, what obstacles the opposition of interest, and the jealousy of pretensions place to the making the regulation of the indemnities the spontaneous act of the Germanic body.

It is this that has induced the First Consul and the Emperor of Russia to think that it became two powers perfectly disinterested to afford their mediation, and to offer to the deliberations of the Imperial Diet a general plan of indemnity, drawn up from the calculations of the greatest impartiality, and in which the attention has been directed both to compensate the losses recognized, and to preserve between the principal houses in Germany the balance that subsisted before the war.

In consequence, after having examined with the most scrupulous care all the memorials, both upon the value of the losses, and upon the demand of in-



demnities presented by the parties interested, it has been agreed to propose, that the indemnities shall be distributed in the following manner :

To the Archduke, Grand Duke—For Tuscany and its dependencies, the Archbishopric of Saltzburgh, the Provostship of Bertolsgaden, the Bishopric of Trent, the Bishopric of Brixen, the part of the Bishopric of Passau, situated beyond the Iltz, and the Inn on the side of Austria, except the suburbs of Passau, with a radius of 500 toises; the Abbeyes, Chapters, and Convents situated in the above-mentioned Dioceses.

The above Principalities shall be possessed by the Archduke upon the conditions, engagements, and relations founded upon existing treaties; the said principalities shall be taken out of the Circle of Bavaria, and incorporated in the Circle of Austria, and their Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, both Metropolitan and Diocesan, shall be also separated by the limits of the two Circles; Muhldorf shall be united to Bavaria, and its equivalent in revenue shall be taken from those of Freisingen.

To the *ci-devant* Duke of Modena, for the Modenese and Dependencies, the Brisgaw and the Ortenau.

To the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, for the Duchy of Deux-Ponts, the Duchy of Juliers, the Palatinate of the Rhine, the Marquisate of Bergenopzoom, the Seignory of Ravenstein, and others situate in Belgium and Alsace; the Bishoprics of Passau, with the reservation of the part of the Archduke; of Wurzburg, with the reservations hereinafter-mentioned; of Bamberg, of Augstet, of Freisingen, and of Augsburg; the Provostship of Kempten; the Imperial Cities of Rothenbourg, Weissenbourg, Windsheim, Schweinfurt, Gochsheim, Sennefeld, Allthausen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelsbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Bessingen, Buchorn, Waagen, Leutkirch, Ravensbourg, and Alschausen; the Abbeyes of Saint Ulric, Irsen, Weugen, Sooflingen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rothenbourg, Weltenhausen, Ottobeuren, and Kaisersheim.

To the King of Prussia, for the Duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of the Rhine, and of Gueldres; the Principality of Maers, the territories surrounded by Sevenaer, Huissen, and Mahlbouurg, and the Tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuse; the Bishopric of Hildesheim and that of Paderborn, the territory of Erford and Untergleichen, Eichfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part of the Bishopric of Munster, situate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munster to Tecklenbourg, comprising within it the two Cities of Olphen and Munster; as also the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the Imperial Cities of Mulhausen, Northausen, and Goslar; the Abbeyes of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Eten, Essen, and Werden.

To the Princes of Nassau; that is to say, Nassau Usingen; for the principality of Saarbruck, the two-thirds of the County of Saarwerden, the Seignory of Ostweiler and that of Lahr in the Ortenau; the remainder of the Electorate of Mentz on the right of the Mein, with the reservation of the grand Bailliwick of Aschaffembourg, and that between the Mein, the County of Darmstadt, and the Country of Erbach; Caub, and the remainder of the Electorate of Cologne, properly called, with the reservation of the County of Altweid, the Convents of Seligenstadt and Bleidenstadt, the County of Sayn Alten-Kirchen, after the death of the Margrave of Anspach, the villages of Soden and Soultzbach.

Nassau Weibourg—For the third of Saarwarden and the Seignory of Kirchheim-Polauden; the re-

mainder of the Electorate of Treves, with the Abbey of Arnstein, and that of Marienstadt.

Nassau Dillenburg—For indemnity for the Stadtholderate and territories in Holland and Belgium; the Bishoprics of Fulda and Corwey; the City of Dortmund, the Abbeyes and Chapters situate in these territories, with a charge upon him to satisfy claims subsisting and previously acknowledged by France upon certain successions connected with the majority of Nassau Dillenburg, during the course of the last century; the Abbey of Weingarten and those of Kappel to the country of Lippe, of Kappenberg, to the countries of Munster and Delkerchen.

To the Margrave of Baden—For his part of the County of Sponheim, and the territories and seignories in the Luxembourg, Alsace, &c. the Bishopric of Constance, the remainder of the Bishopric of Spire, Basle, and Strasburg, the Bailliwick Palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the Cities of Heidelberg, and Mannheim, the Seignory of Lahr, when the Prince of Nassau shall be put into possession of the County of Alten-Kirchen, the remainder of the County of Lichtenburg, upon the right of the Rhine, the Imperial Cities of d'Offenbourg, Zell, Hamersbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfalendorf, and Wimpfen; the Abbeyes d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim-Munster, Peterhausen, and Salmansweiler.

To the Duke of Wirtemberg—For the Principality of Montbeard, and his possessions in Alsace, and Franche-Comte; the Provostship of Ellwangen, the Abbey of Zwifolten, the Imperial Cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Eslingen, Rothweal, Giengen, Aulenhall, Gemeindt, and Hailbronn.

To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel—For St. Goar and Rheinfels, and as provision for his charge of the indemnity of Hesse Rothenbourg, the Mentz territories situate within Amenebourg and Fritztal, with their dependencies, and the village of Holzhausen.

To the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt for the whole of the County of Lichtenberg, and its dependencies; the Palatine Bailliwick of Lundenfels and Olzberg, and the remainder of the Bailliwick of Oppenheim, the Duchy of Westphalia, with the reservation of the indemnity of the Prince of Witgenstein, the Mentz Bailliwick of Gernsheim, Bensheim, Hoppenheim, the remainder of the Bishopric of Worms, the City of Friedberg.

To the Prince of Hohenloe-Bartenstein; to the Count of Loewenhaupt; to the Heirs of the Baron of Dietrich for the allodial parts of the County of Lichtenberg; that is to say, to Hohenloe for Oberbronn, the Bailliwick of Yaxtberg, and the portions of Mentz and Wurzburg, to the Bailliwick of Knufelshaw; to the others for Rauschenbourg, Niderbronn, Reichsolen, &c. the Abbey of Rollen-Munster. To the same Count of Loewenhaupt, and to the Count of Hillesheim for Reipoltz-Kirchen, the Heclig-Kruenthal.

To the Princes and Counts of Loewanstein—For the County of Wirmbourg, the Seignories of Scharfenech, and other territories in the Counties united to France; the part of Wurzburg, as far as the Counties of Rhineck, and Wertheim, on the right of the Mein, the Abbey of Bronnbach.

To the Prince of Linange—The Mentz Bailliwick of Mittenberg, Amorbach, Bischofsheim, Konigshofen, Krautheim, and all the parts of Mentz, comprised between the Mayn, the Tauber, the Neckar, and the County of Erbach, the parcels of Wurzburg, upon the left of the Tauber, the Palatine

Bailiwicks of Boxburg, of Mosbach, the Abbey of Amorbach, and the Provostship of Combourg, with territorial superiority.

To the Count of Linange Guntersblum—The Mentz Bailiwick, or Killery of Billigheim.

To the Count of Linange-Heidesheim—The Mentz Bailiwick, or Kellery of Neydman.

To the Count of Linange-Westerbourg, the elder branch—The Convent of Schonthal, upon the Yaxte, with territorial superiority; the youngest branch, the Provostship of Wimpfen.

To the Princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kirbourg, to the Rhinegraves, to the Princes and Counts of Salm-Reifersheid, the remainder of the upper Bishopric of Munster.

To the Prince of Wied-Runkel—For the county of Creange, the county of Altwied, with the reservation of the bailiwicks of Linz and Unkel.

To the Duke of Aremberg, to the Count de la Marck, to the Prince de Ligne—For the principality of Aremberg, the counties of Saffenberg, Schleyden, and Fagnolles, the county of Rucklinghausen, with the bailiwick of Dalmen, as far as the country of Munster.

To the Prince and Counts of Solms—For Rohrbach, Hirschfeld, the convents of Arnsbourg, and of Ilbenstadt.

To the Prince of Wilgenstein—For Neumayen, &c. the abbey of Graffschafft, the district of Zuschenau, and the forest of Hellenbergerstreit, as far as the Duchy of Westphalia.

To the Count of Wartemberg—For Wartemberg, the kellery of Necke-Steinack, that of Erenberg, and the farm of Wimpfen, dependant upon Worms and Spires.

To the Prince of Stolberg—For the county of Rocheforte, the convents of Engelthal and Rokenberg.

To the Prince of Isenberg—The part of the chapter of Jacobsberg as far as the village of Gernsheim.

To the Prince of Tour-Taxis—For indemnity of revenue of imperial posts in the ceded provinces and domains in Belgium, the abbey of Buchans, with the city, those of Marchthal and Nernheim, the bailiwick of Ostrach, dependant upon Salmsweiler.

To the Count of Sickingen—For the county of Landstul, &c. the abbey of Ochsenhausen and of Munchroth.

To the Count of Leyen—For Bliescastel, &c. the Abbays of Schoussenried, Goutenzell, Heybach, Bamdt, and Bouxheim.

To the Prince of Brezemheim—The abbey of Lindau with the city.

To the Countess of Colloredo—For Daschthal; the abbays of Sainte Croix de Donawerth.

To the countess of Sternberg—For Mandersheid, Blankenheim, the abbays of Weissenau and Isny, with the city.

To the Prince of Dietrichstein—For the Seignory of de Trasp, which will be abandoned to the Grisons, the Seignory of Neu-Ravensbourg.

To the Counts of Westphalia, of Bassenheim—For Ollbruck, of Sinzendorff; for Rhineck, of Straesberg; for Kerpen, of Ostein; for Millendonek, of Quadt; for Wicketade, of Plettenberg; for Wittem, of Metternich; for Wennebourg, &c. of Aspremont; for Reckheim, of Toring; for Gronsfeld, of Nessalrade; for Welri, &c. the lower Bishopric of Munster.

To the Grand Prior of Malta—For the commanderies on the left of the Rhine; the abbey of Saint Blaise, with the county of Bondorf and dependencies;

the abbays of Saint Trupert, of Schultern, of St. Pierre, and of Tenebach.

The First Consul of the French Republic, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, after having proposed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the Hereditary Princes, have acknowledged that it was at once possible and fit to preserve, in the first College of the Empire, an Ecclesiastical Elector.

They propose, in consequence, that the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire should be transferred to the See of Ratisbon, with the abbays of Saint Emeran, Ober Munster, and Heider Munster, keeping of his old possessions the Grand Bailiwick of Aschaffenburg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there should be united to it besides, a sufficient number of mediate abbays, so as to make up to him with said lands, an annual revenue of a million florins.

And as the best means to consolidate the Germanic body is to place in the first college the Princes of the greatest influence of the Empire, it is proposed that the electoral title should be granted to the Margrave of Baden, to the Duke of Wirtemberg, and to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

The King of England, in his quality of Elector of Hanover, has raised pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of interest that he should desist from his pretensions, it is proposed that the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the Electoral House of Brunswick, should devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: First, That the King of England, Elector of Hanover, shall renounce all his rights and pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter. Secondly, That he shall likewise give up to the cities of Hamburg and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exercises and possesses in the said cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, That he shall cede the Bailiwick of Wildhausen to the Duke of Oldenburg, and his rights to the eventual succession of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen—to the Prince of Nassau Usingen.

In consideration of the cession of the bailiwick of Wildhausen, to the Duke of Oldenburg, and the secularization that shall be made for his advantage of the bishopric, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleet shall be suppressed, and shall not be re-established under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the said bishopric and chapter in the city of Lubeck shall be united to the domain of the said city.

The propositions made with relation to the indemnities, lead to several general considerations, which ought to occupy the attention of the Diet, and on which they will not fail to make the necessary decisions. It appears then,

First, That the ecclesiastical property of the Grand Chapters and their dignitaries, ought to be incorporated with the domains of the bishoprics, and pass with the bishoprics to the Princes to whom they are allotted.

Secondly, That the property of the chapters, abbies, and convents, as well of men as of women, mediate and immediate, which has not been formally disposed of in the present propositions, should be applied to complete the indemnity of the states and hereditary members of the Empire, if it should be found that what is already allotted is insufficient, and saving the sovereignty, which remains always to the territorial Princes, to the endowing of new cathedrals, which are to be preserved or established, as well as for the support of the bishops and their chapters, and

other expenses of public worship, and to the pensions of the suppressed clergy.

Thirdly, that the property and revenues belonging to hospitals, zabriques, universities, colleges, and other pious foundations, as also those of the communes of one of the two Banks of the Rhine, situate on the other Bank, should be placed at the disposal of the respective governments.

Fourthly, that the lands and property assigned to the states of the Empire to replace their possessions on the Left Bank of the Rhine, should remain subject to the payment of the debts of the said Princes, as well personal as those appertaining to their ancient possessions.

Fifthly, That all the tolls of the Rhine ought to be received, without the power of re-establishment, under any denomination whatever, saving the duties of customs.

Sixthly, That all the fiefs held of feudal courts, established heretofore on the left Bank of the Rhine, and situate on the right Bank, should be henceforth held immediately of the Emperor and the Empire.

Seventhly, That the Princes of Nassau Usingen, Nassau Weilburg, Salm-Salm, Salm Kirburg, Linange, and Aremberg, should be maintained or introduced in the college of Princes; each with a vote annexed to the possessions which they receive in indemnity for their former immediate possessions; that the votes of the immediate Counts of the Empire should be in like manner transferred to the lands, which they receive in compensation, and that the ecclesiastical votes should be exercised by the Princes and Counts, who, by virtue of the treaty of Luneville, are in possession of the capitals.

Eighthly, That the college of cities ought to remain composed of the free and imperial cities of Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Wetzlar, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ratisbon, and that the means ought to be provided, in the event of future wars in the Empire, that the said cities shall not be compelled to take any part, and that their neutrality should be assured by the Empire, and also that it should be recognized by the other Belligerent powers.

Ninthly, That the secularization of the convents of Recluse Women ought not to be effected, but with the consent of the diocesan bishop; but the convents of men should be at the disposition of the territorial Princes, who may suppress or preserve them, at their pleasure.

Such is the whole of the arrangements and considerations which the undersigned is ordered to present to the imperial Diet, and on which he thinks it his duty to call for its most prompt and most serious deliberation, declaring to it, in the name of his government, that the interest of Germany, the consolidation of the peace, and the general tranquillity of Europe, exact that all that concerns the regulation of the indemnities must be terminated in the space of two months.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.
Paris, August, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—What you say on the subject of Jamaica, is precisely what I had, before I saw your last week's Register, observed to a friend: particularly you pointed out, as

it well deserved, the passage tending to claim a free trade with the United States of America, which struck me more forcibly than all the rest. I hope you will print the papers, relative to this subject, at length, that your readers may have them to refer to, as occasion shall require. [These papers will be inserted in our next.]

When I took up the pen it was my intention merely to thank you for your remarks, and not to trouble you with any of my own; as, however, I have the paper to spare, I will fill it up with briefly noticing one or two points in the message of the Lieutenant Governor, relating to the difference in the language which ministers have held *here* and *there*, and which exhibit such a contrast, as scarcely ever before met the eye or the ear, at any time, or under any government. At the very time that Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Vansittart are exulting at the flourishing state of our commerce and revenues; at the very time that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington are assuring the House of Commons, that we *could easily have found resources for continuing the war for years*; at that identical moment, Sir, the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica is instructed to declare to the Legislative Assembly of that colony, that the mother country is under "*the absolute necessity of resorting to extraordinary means*" for the purpose—not of *continuing the war*, Sir, but of *supporting her peace establishment*! Which of these sets of assertions is true, and which is false? Is the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, or the House of Assembly of Jamaica to be cheated, deceived, and misled, by representations, which the ministers who make, or who direct them to be made, know to be not only unfounded, but the very reverse of the truth, if they are to be believed on either side of the Atlantic?

Something of the same reprehension is also due to the pretty tale of the Lieutenant Governor, that there is a "great prospect of a much more ready and extensive sale for the produce of the colonies, from new markets being opened to its commerce by the blessings of peace." Compare this, Sir, with the admissions of Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Vansittart (which were, in reality, extorted from them by the notoriety of the fact), that our West-India trade, with the products of which we supplied all Europe during the war, must now, be confined to the supply of our home consumption; which, however, they (Mr. Vansittart in particular) laboured, by every sophistry

to prove, or pretend to prove, would not, upon the whole, injure the country; because, on the re-exportation there was a drawback, and that drawback ceasing, though the quantity of produce required from the colonies would, of course, be greatly diminished, the revenue here would continue the same as before!

I shall, perhaps, be told, Sir, that the mere admissions of ministers, in the course of debate, are not to be seriously contrasted with their subsequent and more deliberate declarations, I therefore, to avoid all dispute, shall contrast this more solemn declaration with the fact, as it now stands. And first, let me ask his Majesty's servants, in what quarter of the world they expected the "blessings of peace" to open "new markets" for a "more ready and extensive sale of the produce of the colonies?" Do they not mean to shut one, at least, of the markets, which were open during the war, and that too, a market, which appears, in the estimation of the colonists, to be the most essential to their interests? Is not the American market, which, during the war, was kept open by perpetually renewed proclamations of the several governors, and annual acts of indemnity sanctioning those proclamations, now to be shut against our colonies; or, does Lord Hawkesbury mean, by the advice of Lord Liverpool, to surrender the great principle of the Navigation Act, with regard to colonial trade?

But, Sir, the best possible illustration of the Lieutenant Governor's statement respecting the "new markets" and the "more ready and extensive sale of the produce of our colonies," which, according to the communication he was instructed to make, were to be numbered amongst the "blessings of peace," is the variation in the price of sugar. During the war, Sir, the average price of this great staple of our islands was sometimes very high indeed; but, I shall carry my statement no farther back than the 31st of September 1801, when the average price was forty eight shillings and nine pence the hundred weight. Since that day, Sir, which was the last day of war, the average price of sugar has experienced a regular decline, till it is now fallen down to thirty-three shillings and four pence the hundred weight. Let me not be told, that this astonishing fall proceeds from the reduction in the charges for freight and insurance, which does not, at most, amount to more than six and a half per cent., while the reduction in the price of sugar amounts to about thirty-three per cent. I find too, Sir, by consult-

ing your Register, that the fall in the price of this very important article of colonial produce has not only been occasioned by the "blessings of peace," but that it has kept pace with the different degrees of that blessing. At the signature of the preliminaries, the average price of sugar was 48s. 9d. At the signature of the definitive treaty, it was 38s. 8d. It is now 33s. 4d.—Such, Sir, are the proofs, that the "blessings of peace" have opened "new markets for a more ready and extensive sale of the produce of the colonies!"

Sir, I have no desire to exaggerate; I have no motive for wishing to lower the character of the ministry; but I cannot refrain from expressing my contempt and indignation at these puerile arts of fraudulent prevarication and falsehood, no less dishonourably than dishonestly employed, in the hope that, from the distance of place, they may escape detection, till their purpose is obtained.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A WEST-INDIA PLANTER.

Highgate, Aug. 2, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Review of Mr. Belsbam's Remarks on the Definitive Treaty of Peace.

Page 3. Among a long string of questions stated for the purpose of being negatived, Mr. B. asks—"has Britain received indemnity for the past and security for the future?" Most certainly she has not. Yet in the very next page Mr. B. infers from certain positions there stated, "that the treaty of Amiens is not merely safe but highly beneficial and honourable."—These two passages are manifestly contradictory: for, if Britain has not received security for the future, then can the treaty in no sense of the word be called safe. And, if the treaty is not merely safe, but even highly beneficial and honourable, then Britain has received security for the future.

Page 5. Mr. B. observes,—"*on the government of this country, refusing either to maintain the Russians captured in Holland, or to exchange them for French prisoners captured by England, the First Consul with his characteristic magnanimity sent the Russian prisoners, fed and clothed, back to their own country without ransom.*" To talk of the First Consul's magnanimity on this occasion, is an adulatory falsehood alike base and impudent. For

it is notorious that, before this act of magnanimity took place, the Emperor Paul had been debauched from his alliance with England by the meretricious influence of a French actress, sent from Paris to Petersburg for that express purpose; and this liberating of the Russian prisoners was a "*coup de théâtre*" for the better carrying on of the plot. No blame should be imputed to the First Consul for thus co-operating with Madame (I forget her name) who proved herself to be an able and successful agent; she did Buonaparté's business, and she did the emperor's business, and I hope she did her own business, by getting well paid: but where is the magnanimity in contriving or succeeding by a profligate intrigue?

Mr. B. closes his remarks on this subject by asserting that—"to refuse to regard the Russian auxiliaries in British pay in the light of British soldiers, were (was) a complication of inhumanity, impolicy, and injustice." Mr. B. has not shewn on what expressions in our treaty of alliance with Russia he founds this assertion, and I have no present opportunity of turning to that treaty; but the following points seem to be perfectly reasonable. 1st. If by that treaty it was *expressly agreed* that England should maintain all such Russian soldiers as should, whilst under our command, be captured by the enemy; then nothing less than an act of hostility on the part of the Emperor Paul could release England from her engagement. 2dly. Even if it were *not so expressly agreed* by the treaty; yet it seems that an agreement, *generally* to maintain the Russian troops under our command, should be extended by a liberal construction to the supporting of such as should be captured: so long however as the emperor's faithful performance of his engagements should entitle him to claim a *liberal* instead of a *literal* construction of the treaty, and no longer. 3dly. If the Emperor Paul had made any French prisoners, nothing less than an *express agreement* could give him a reasonable claim on England to redeem the Russians by an exchange of *her* French prisoners, so long as the emperor should be able to redeem them by French prisoners of his own. That the Emperor Paul had forfeited all claim to liberality on the part of England, long before the First Consul sent back the Russian prisoners, I believe no one will dispute: I believe also that he had in his possession a sufficient number of French prisoners to have exchanged for his own.

Page 6. The articles iii. iv. v. "stipulate the restitution by Britain of all the possessions belonging to France and her allies previous to the war; Trinidad and Ceylon excepted, &c."

By confining his remarks to the particular articles contained in the treaty of Amiens only, Mr. B. has ingeniously endeavoured to keep out of sight those oppressive and extortionate treaties of aggrandizement to which France has compelled the other belligerent powers to submit. Relying therefore upon the substance of the 3d, 4th, and 5th articles, by which it cannot be denied that Britain has acquired Trinidad and Ceylon in addition to her former possessions, Mr. B. triumphantly exclaims—"to every useful and beneficial purpose—nay, to every purpose of national pride and glory, was not that vast portion of the globe possessed by Britain before the war began amply sufficient, and indeed, in the view of impartial reason, much more than sufficient?" But it matters not whether our possessions were or were not sufficient *before the war*; the question is, whether our present possessions, as settled by the peace, are now sufficient for all the above purposes. Yes, says Mr. B. for here we see new sources—if not of national prosperity, at least of national and commercial adventure, marked out. And considered in conjunction with those new and immense territorial acquisitions made during the war by the East-India Company, on the final subversion of the Empire of Mysore, they must surely satisfy all who are capable of being satisfied." But should any of Mr. B.'s readers be unfortunately in the number of those who are not satisfied, they will receive no further satisfaction from Mr. B. as he has not offered a single reason in support of his opinion. Yet surely when Mr. B. was stating our acquisitions of Ceylon and Trinidad as matters of such abundant satisfaction, the subject naturally led to a comparative view of those acquisitions with the acquisitions made by France, and of the means which the acquisitions made by either of the two powers afford of levying troops, raising revenue, employing shipping, extending commerce, attacking their enemies or defending themselves: for it is from the proportion maintained between the two countries in these the several constituent parts of national power, that the future prosperity and security of Britain or France can be reasonably estimated. On all these points Mr. B. is carefully silent. Is it un-

fair to presume that he foresaw in such a comparative investigation the complete refutation of his whole pamphlet?

[To be concluded in our next.]

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs,

MY LORD,

The new partition of the ranks, honours, titles, and estates of the princes of Germany, the inevitable consequence of our shameful and idiot-like dereliction of all ancient policy, in making peace without renewing our standing treaties, seems to call for a revival of that correspondence, which, at and after the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, so happily existed between your Lordship and myself.

The arguments, made use of to convince you, that a disgraceful treaty would bring upon this country the contempt of every nation in the world, will, I imagine, now require no farther illustration; for, wicked and detestable as is the act itself, the mode of "settling the indemnities," the unexampled insult to our sovereign and to our country, is what certainly excites, in the mind of every man of sense and honour, the greatest degree of indignation. What powers have settled this partition? Russia, which has hardly any thing that can be called a direct interest in the empire, having no possessions but of a very trifling description in a remote corner; and France, which not only has none, but seems to me to have been bound by the VIIIth article of the treaty of Luneville not to interfere in the settlement of these indemnities, which were to be ultimately determined by the German Empire, according to the basis, established at the congress of Rastadt. Indeed, the report of Talleyrand itself seems to admit something of this kind, and to aim at a very lame and paltry excuse for this violation of the clear meaning of the treaty.

With whom was this division negotiated? Not with the emperor, who had made the treaty of peace for the whole Germanic body, and who is the natural and political head of the empire: not with the king of England, who, by all the treaties of the last century and a half, had an immediate interest in the conservation of the Magna Charta of the empire, the treaty of Westphalia, who had protected Germany for the sake of the barrier of the Netherlands, and who now,

in his electoral capacity, is a principal member of the empire: who was an ally of the emperor when the treaty of Luneville was made, who, having been wantonly attacked by the Emperor Paul, had recently returned to peace and amity with Russia, and had more recently made a treaty of peace with France, which was, in effect, the sequel of the treaty of Luneville; who, above all, having no indemnities to demand for himself in either capacity, was the prince of greatest influence connected immediately with the empire, that was qualified to be an impartial arbiter. It was negotiated with the King of Prussia, who had indemnities to demand in the very vicinity of the electorate of Hanover, and who, immediately before, without any hostilities being declared, had taken possession of the electorate itself: and, with the inferior princes under similar circumstances, who chose to make themselves dependent on this new confederate head of the empire, France, Russia, and Prussia. Never before, my Lord, was Great Britain treated with such neglect and contempt. Not only was his Majesty not a party to this important transaction; not only was he never consulted in the forming of a compact by which a transfer is made of a part of his dominions; but, the intention, the will, of the contracting parties, was never even notified to him; and, you and your colleagues, his intelligent and vigilant servants, those "safe politicians," who are to preserve us from the might and malice of a whole world of foes, never heard of this treaty of partition, 'till its conclusion was announced in this Register. Is it thus, my Lord, that you keep the promise made to the nation, in the address on the treaty of Amiens, "to employ that vigilance and attention, which the present situation of Europe demands?"

But what is done by this pretended settlement, as far as affects England through Hanover? Some territories, to which his Majesty had clear and indisputable pretensions, and others which he actually possessed, were wanted to fulfil certain views of the hostile confederacy, for such, in spirit, it was and is. He is, therefore, at once told by citizen Talleyrand, that he must surrender these to be parcelled out as the confederates have been pleased to appoint, and, in return, he is to have a partial secularization, which he never asked, of Osnaburgh. This is direct dictation from France, first announced, my Lord, to your insulted sovereign, in the new style of diplomacy, through the channel of the very

newspaper, which just before had published a most atrocious libel against him, as the hirer and rewarder of assassins! And this, my Lord, is the effect of that "*conciliation with firmness*," the profession of which was repeated 'till the parliament and the public were weary of the sound!

The Elector of Hanover is to give up his pretensions to the Bishoprick of Hildesheim and the Abbey of Corvey. It is not the intrinsic value of the former, so much as its local situation, which strikes the politician. It is situated in the middle of the territories of the house of Brunswick and Hanover. From Brunswick it is 28 miles, from Hanover only 14. The King of Prussia, who is to be its new sovereign, by placing a garrison in it, will become master of the elector's capital. Hildesheim is, undoubtedly, a part of the principality of Calenberg, of which Hanover, though now the capital, was formerly only the second town, Gottingen being the first. The elector, as prince of Calenberg, is patron of the city of Hildesheim, and maintained there a small detachment of foot. In the year 1519, just at the commencement of the reformation, the Bishop John having begun what was called the Hildesheim war, was not only stripped of the greater part of his territories, but put under the ban of the empire, and all but the cathedral itself with three bailiwicks, solemnly and legally conferred on the House of Brunswick, in whose possession the great bishoprick (as the conquered portion of the diocese was styled) continued for more than a century, when it was given up by a particular convention, not long before the peace of Westphalia; by which convention, the *patronage*, or *guardianship* of the city was reserved by the elector: so that, the "*pretensions*" (as Citizen Talleyrand has the insolence to term the claims of his Majesty) to this bishoprick are just as good as any man's pretensions can be to the lordship of a manor.

Wildhausen ceased to belong to the House of Oldenburgh since the year 1270, between five and six centuries ago. It came then into the hands of the archbishops, afterwards the bishops, from whom it passed to the Dukes of Bremen. The Dukedom of Bremen was created out of the bishoprick to recompense Sweden for the heroic achievements of Gustavus Adolphus and his illustrious successors in the command.

As to what his Majesty receives in Osnaburgh, it would not, had he not already

much the better half of its possession, nearly compensate, in point of value alone, for what he loses. But, it is the local situation of Hildesheim in particular, which is of importance in the present examination. The Electorate of Hanover bounded to the north east by the Prussian provinces of Alt-Marck, Magdeburgh, and Halberstadt; to the west by the Prussian provinces of Minden, Ravensperg, Pyrmont, and, having Hildesheim, with a Prussian garrison, in its very centre, while Osnaburgh is closely wedged up by the Prussian provinces of Westphalia and the bishoprick of Munster, which has also been seized on by Prussia. In order to complete the investiture of the states of Brunswick and Hanover, the King of Prussia has, towards the south, taken the country of Eislefeld, as his portion of the dismemberment of Mentz. If any doubt remained respecting the ultimate views of Prussia against Hanover, it must be removed in a moment, when we consider, that Osnaburgh, which is in itself of more value than Hildesheim, and is, besides, almost surrounded by the Prussian possessions in Westphalia, suited Prussia much better than Hildesheim, while Hildesheim suited the elector better than Osnaburgh. Had it been the intention of France and Prussia to stop here, the distribution would, therefore, have taken this turn; but, Prussian covetousness saw a prospect of seizing on Hanover itself, and Buonaparté gratified at once his interest and his malice, by holding in his hand the fate of the patrimonial possessions of the Royal Family of England, by the means of one of his humble vassals, with whom the Electorate of Hanover will, at any time, be a sufficient bribe, if fear should fail to produce the desired effect. It is absolutely impossible to contemplate the extent and situation of Hildesheim without anticipating the fall of the electorate. The bishoprick is larger than Hertfordshire or Surry, almost as large as Berkshire, and about the same size as Buckinghamshire. The city of Hildesheim is nearly the same distance from Hanover, as Epsom, or I may rather say, as it lies upon the same river, a mile or two farther than Kingston from London, and is situated, I believe, on a considerable hill. Now, my Lord, as you are a *military man*, suppose France, with a force double to what she now has, put in possession of Epsom, or Kingston, not as insulated spots, but connected with other territories lying behind either of those places; what would, in such a case, be the security of this metropolis? It would, my Lord, be in much

greater danger than Paris was, when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march towards it, or even when your Lordship threatened to undertake a similar enterprise.—Such, nearly, will be the situation of the King of Prussia at Hildesheim with regard to Hanover, except that the disproportion of force will be against the electorate in a still greater degree. Thus then, the states of the House of Brunswick will belong to the King of Prussia, the moment the French stand in need of his aid to accomplish their projects against Austria or England.

I am aware, my Lord, that this prospect will be far from appearing gloomy to those zealous patriots, who think that the glory and liberty of their country consists in the humiliation of their sovereign; and, it must be confessed, that they will be most effectually relieved from the dread of seeing the Hanoverian troops in garrison at the Tower, which is, doubtless, a comforting reflection; but, my Lord, there is no such thing as perfect happiness in this world: if we have no longer to fear that the House of Hanover will enslave England by means of soldiers from the continent, we cannot but recollect, that Prussia and France are absolute masters of all the shores of Europe, from Memel to Venice, and that, in the whole distance, there is not a single port, where an English vessel will dare to be admitted contrary to the mandates of Buonaparté.—We shall, my Lord, soon see the time, when the suspicious, selfish, and stupid railers against continental connexions, will have cause to repent of their meanness and their folly, and will, when it is too late, perceive that the prosperity and happiness of themselves are inseparable from the interest, the honour, and the consequence of their sovereign; in the mean while, it may not be amiss to point out some of the means by which this most salutary conviction will be produced.

To get Bremen, as your lordship knows, was one great object of the German and English politics of George I., after his accession to the throne; but, my lord, it is much easier for your right worthy colleague to imitate Sir Robert Walpole in the disposal of the clerkship of the pells, than in the policy by which he at once preserved peace, and the dignity of the English name in Europe. Bremen and Hamburg are important places; because, by our influence, through Hanover, on them, and especially on Bremen, they are the surest, though not the most convenient inlets for

our commerce into Germany, if by any *pacific* arrangements of the new confederacy we should be deprived of other better and more direct channels. In time of war, the Imperial cities were generally, though not always necessarily neutral. The Emperor could, by certain constitutional proceedings, compel them to be parties in the war, and this power was partially exercised, for a short time; in the year 1793. In future, they are to be always and necessarily neutral, for the purpose of conveying the property belonging to our enemies, or of supplying their necessities, at least more securely, if we should ever again be as completely triumphant as late we were upon the seas. These blows are, then, struck at the vital interest of England through the sides of Hanover. The Electorate is to be robbed and pillaged for the purpose of furnishing the means of injury to England. What has the pretence of indemnities to do with so great and unnecessary an innovation in the constitution of the Empire, as detaching from it, in all future wars, the College of Cities? Because, out of the eight which compose it, the two principal which have sea ports are liable, more or less, to the influence of England. The hostile mind and intention here, are not disguised; and it is a new and original aggression, not founded on any thing in the treaty of Luneville. The powers who confer this independence, will most probably guarantee it on their own terms.

It is clear, then, that no part of this arrangement is to be ascribed to a desire of injuring the Elector of Hanover, but to injure, affront, and insult Great-Britain, through the sides of that Elector and Electorate, and, probably to furnish the world with an illustration, which was very much wanted, of your lordship's "*conciliation with firmness*," which was to produce such happy consequences to the nation. The degree of respect, of weight and importance, which Great-Britain has secured by this "*conciliation with firmness*," is clearly ascertained by the indemnity to the Stadtholder, and by the *mode* of that indemnity. The Abbey of Corvey is given to the House of Nassau, to which house, in our treaty of peace, your lordship and your colleagues told us, that *France would not allow the title of ORANGE*; but to which in the convention negotiated *with Prussia*, (Register, p. 225) she has restored that title, in the act of plundering our king to indemnify that House. In the debate on the treaty of Amiens, it was urged by the opponents of the

peace, that, coupling the clause which we had there inserted with Schimmelpenninck's private convention, signed the same hour, at the other end of the same table, the result might be, that we should indemnify the late Stadtholder. This was received as a point and turn of debate, and not as a serious interpretation; but it is now, in part, very seriously carried into effect. And will you and your colleagues, my lord, who procured that stipulation at Amiens, dare now to insist upon it, in opposition to the seizure of Corvey? or will you, by a pusillanimous silence, sanction such a shameful and iniquitous construction of it? The Stadtholder has, indeed, lost rank and dominion by the base desertion of England, but he is now most amply avenged, in beholding our disgrace, which, if our means are considered, is far greater than that of either Holland or Spain. The King of Sardinia, kneeling at the feet of the lowbred miscreant Joubert, did not present to the world a spectacle so shockingly degrading as England does at this moment: the unfortunate feeble-minded monarch, had the love of life as a plea for his conduct, while England has nothing to plead but her love of money, from which base and despicable motive she has voluntarily sacrificed both her allies and herself. For, my lord, be you well assured, that neither her past nor her future acts of baseness will purchase security to her pelf: a respite may be obtained, but the same hand, which has already reached the press, will finally dive into the Bank.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

September 2, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Hamburg, Aug. 20.—On the arrival of M. le Comte de Panin, on the frontiers of Sweden, he received a positive order not to enter the kingdom; against which, however, he formally protested, as an indignity offered to a minister of his Imperial Majesty of Russia, and at the same time declared, that he would represent the circumstance to his court. In consequence of which he received the following letter from the Emperor,

Minsk, June 24,

"M. LE COMTE,

"I have learned, with extreme surprize, by your letter from *Wibourg*, the very extraordinary manner in which you have been treated in the dominions of his Swedish Majesty. I cannot imagine that that prince, can have any motive for personal dissatisfaction with respect to you, and it would be still more difficult to think that he has taken umbrage at any proceeding in the course of your mission, in which you have been only the organ of my will, and are responsible to me alone. However, be the motives of his Swedish Majesty what they may for such conduct, I have less displeasure at the proceeding itself, which cannot injure you, than at the state of embarrassment which it must necessarily place your family in. I remain, with assurances of my good will and esteem, &c.

(Signed)

"*Alexander.*"

Berne Aug. 22.—The following representation has been addressed by the Lesser Cantons to the First Consul, on the subject of the evacuation of Helvetia.

"Citizen First Consul,

"The three Cantons of *Uri*, *Schwitz*, and *Unterwald*, have been apprised, by public report, of your resolution to withdraw the French troops from Switzerland. They see in such a measure the most convincing proofs of that good will which you have manifested towards the Landamman, Alays Reding, and for the undersigned, &c. The Cantons re-assembled at *Schwitz*, and by their deputies, have determined, in pursuance of the wishes of the people, to renew their former connexions, and to establish in their Cantons a government conformable to their position and to their circumstances; such as you, Citizen First Consul, have approved of, and is exemplified in the 9th and 10th articles of the note of the 20th December, which the Landamman Reding has had the honour of presenting to you.

"We should add, Citizen First Consul, that this resolution has been incited by the arbitrary measures of the Cantonal authorities, and principally carried into execution by the commissary *Keller*, in the Canton of *Unterwald*, proceedings which, by depriving the people of the power which they had formally reserved, of constituting their own government, have induced the greatest aversion against the central government, and to such a degree, that no way remains to maintain the public tranquillity in those coun-

tries, but by immediately restoring the people to the exercise of that legitimate right.

"We have the honour, Citizen First Consul, to communicate to you by these presents, the public declarations of the above-mentioned Cantons, in the conviction, that you are determined those brave people shall continue to experience your benevolent support, which they so highly estimate; and which none, Citizen First Consul, feel a juster sense of, &c. than the under signed."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Majesty in Council, on the 16th of August, was pleased to order the Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor, to issue writs for proroguing the Parliament, which was appointed to meet on Tuesday, the thirty-first day of this instant, August, to Tuesday the fifth day of October next; and also for proroguing the convocations of Canterbury and York, which were appointed to meet on Wednesday the first day of September next, to Wednesday the sixth day of October next.

Orders for the Court's going into mourning on Sunday the 29th ult. for his late Royal Highness, Prince Henry of Prussia, viz.—The Ladies to wear black silk, fringed or plain linen, white gloves, necklaces and ear-rings, black or white shoes, fans and tippets.—Undress, white or grey lutestrings, tabbies, or damasks.—The Gentlemen to wear black full-trimmed, fringed or plain linen, black swords and buckles.—Undress, grey frocks.

The Court to change the mourning on Sunday, the 5th of September inst. viz.—The ladies to wear black silk or velvet, coloured ribbons, fans, and tippets; or plain white, or white and gold, or white and silver stuffs, with black ribbons.—The Gentlemen to wear black coats, and black or plain white, or white and gold, or white and silver stuff waistcoats, full-trimmed coloured swords and buckles.

And on Thursday the 9th of September, the Court to go out of mourning.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The dispute between the ministers and the assembly of Jamaica, on which we intended to make some further remarks, has been taken up by an abler pen: we, therefore, beg leave to refer our readers to p. 266,

where they will find some observations well worthy of attention.

The comments, which we signified our intention to make on citizen Talleyrand's report, have assumed the form of a letter (vide p. 271.) addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, to whom, as he claimed the honour of making the peace, the nation will certainly impute a share, at least, of its consequences.

Some articles in the foreign journals seem to indicate the intention of the Emperor of Germany to resist the execution of the convention between France and Russia; but this intelligence is not well authenticated, and, indeed, resistance appears to be impossible.

The Swiss Cantons are still in a state of disorder and confusion, to put an end to which, a *French army* is on its march.—The new constitution of Genoa has received the sanction of Buonaparté.—The Italian republic is raising and embodying an army of sixty thousand men, which, of course, will be at the command of a *president* of that happy nation.

The attitude of all Europe is extremely hostile towards this country, yet not so hostile as contemptuous. The very smallest powers, nay states, which we never used to reckon as powers, seem to seek for opportunities of expressing their pleasure at our fallen estate. The Englishman who can now travel on the continent without shame must have a soul very little more lofty than that of a Jew. Mr. Fox, however, that "firm friend of freedom," that idol of the whig club, is now at Paris, and, if the news-papers are to be believed, is living in great intimacy with Talleyrand. This visit may, perhaps, be productive of good: the contemplating of that "stupendous monument of human wisdom and human happiness," the government of France, may, at last, sober the mind of this enthusiastic patriot. The forbearance, too, which he will be compelled to practise, the habit of silence, the science *de se taire*, which he will not fail to acquire at Paris, may, probably, tend to preserve us from a repetition of his disgusting and insolent harangues. It is almost impossible to conceive a situation more degrading than that, in which this man has placed himself. He must detest and abhor the consul and government of France, or he must be the greatest hypocrite that ever dishonoured the human shape; yet he voluntarily crawls to the feet of that consul, bows his grey head to the earth before him, and gathers up the crumbs that fall from his table. This is

the man, who, surrounded by his ignorant and drunken admirers at the whig club, boasts of his right of *cashiering kings*. Let him take care how he talks of cashiering consuls, or Buonaparté, who is extremely quick-sighted, may yet chance to find out a way of rewarding him for his audacious attacks on his native sovereign. This caution is, however, totally unnecessary; he will take care; he will smile and fawn, not only on Buonaparté, but on his underlings. He will be altogether as supple and submissive in France as he is stiff and turbulent in England. It is in the nature of men of his description to be either excessively insolent, or excessively mean; to be the tyrants of the humble and the weak, and the slaves of the haughty, the resolute, and the strong.

The circulation of the English newspapers is stopped at Paris after they are become perfectly harmless. The threat to prosecute Mr. Peltier (which is, for the present, suspended) has humbled the tone of the heroes of the quill. Their attacks have, as we foretold they would, dwindled into puns and fables, of the wit of which Buonaparté will certainly not be afraid. The French journalists, seeing them *down*, have fallen upon them without mercy, and, which is truly curious, they, who very probably are regicides, accuse the English journalists of having slandered the French monarchy!

We have before declared it as our decided opinion, that the destruction of what is called the liberty of the press would be a good act, by whomsoever it might be performed. If any man of sound sense and sound principles be (which we can hardly believe) inclined to dissent from this opinion, let him read the following article, which, with little or no alteration, has appeared in all the London newspapers, on and since the 28th ultimo.

"The complaint of the French official journal on the subject of the countenance given to criminals in the island of Jersey has attracted much attention. We are informed that even previous to the splenetic article in the *Moniteur*, M. Otto had addressed communications to this government on the subject. M. Otto specified nine individuals as charged with assassinations and other crimes in France, nay, with actually having offered money to induce men to undertake something against the life of the First Consul. It is said that *these persons or some of them, had formerly been employed as agents by the prince de Bouillon, our commander at Jer-*

sey during the war, a circumstance to which no blame attaches, and it is not even pretended that they had any countenance in their designs since the peace. In consequence of M. Otto's representation, however, government sent orders to Jersey to make the strictest inquiry after the persons named, and four of them have been arrested, and have been brought to Southampton to be delivered up. The other five are supposed to have gone to the coast of France, and there is not a doubt that they will not be permitted to return to Jersey. In addition to those specified under the treaty of Amiens, seventeen persons, Chouans or emigrants, have been brought from Jersey to Southampton, in order to be sent out of the kingdom as aliens. Nineteen still remain, it is said, who are likewise to be brought to England. It is to be observed, that none but the nine persons named as guilty of specific crimes, were demanded, and that the steps taken against the others have been voluntary.

"Such being the case, it is clear that the official invectives of the *Moniteur* were injurious and libellous to this country. Ministers have done every thing that depended upon them to remove, not only the cause, but the pretext of complaint. We wish they had not by the mean and unmanly alien act given any indirect opportunity for the interference of the French government to require the banishment of every foreigner they choose to suspect, or even to blame—Ministers having taken upon themselves the discretion of sending foreigners out of the country, must be in a very awkward situation when the French government applies to get any obnoxious man, not specifically accused of crimes under the treaty of Amiens, removed. Ministers are obliged to act on the merits of each case, and to argue with caprice or ill humour in rejecting their demands, should they occur, as they probably will, when they might have stated that the laws of England gave common protection to all foreigners against whom specific crimes were not alleged. Their protection of persons whom the French government chooses to suspect, and whom it cannot accuse, may thus be a source of ill humour. We point out this disagreeable consequence of the alien act in general; and this is a different thing from the limited and specified conditions of surrender of criminals stipulated by treaty.

"At the same time it seems fair to admit

" that ministers are taking every proper measure to silence the angry and captious spirit of complaint in the French government, where-ever it could have any plausible foundation. THIS CONDUCT MUST BE APPLAUD-ED BY THE COUNTRY."

This article is, perhaps, the most striking example that ever was exhibited of the evil tendency of what has been dignified with the appellations of "the palladium of free-men," and the "birth right of Britons." A writing, at once more false in point of fact, more base in principle, more detestably wicked as to its inevitable object and tendency, never obtained circulation in the world, and, it is but justice to say, that it originated in the Morning Chronicle.

As to the fact, it is, we believe, certain, that M. Otto did address communications to his Majesty's ministers, requesting that certain persons, offensive to Buonaparté, might be apprehended and sent out of the kingdom, or, perhaps, delivered up to him, as coming within the stipulations of the 20th article of the treaty of Amiens; but no persons have been either *confined* or *taken up*, in consequence of that application. The truth is this: there were several royalist officers in the island of Jersey, who had come thither from France, some of them, probably, since the conclusion of the peace. Buonaparté was uneasy at the near neighbourhood of these gallant gentlemen, who had braved death in ten thousand shapes for the sake of their lawful sovereign; and, indeed, it would be uncandid to blame the fears of the consul, who sleeps not upon a bed of roses, and who must be excused for having the feelings inseparable from his situation. When we recollect that the hero of Drogheda lived in continual alarm, wore armour under his clothes by day, and shifted his lodgings every night, for the last five years of his life, we ought to be by no means astonished at the apprehensions of the hero of Alexandria. The ministers, willing to remove the cause of his dread, without violating the laws of the land, or the no less sacred laws of hospitality and of honour, sent to Jersey and prevailed upon *twenty-six* of the persons in question to remove themselves to England, which they readily agreed to. These gentlemen arrived at Southampton on the 20th ultimo, and are now in this country; but not one of them is, or ever was for a moment, in *confinement*; and as to its being the intention of ministers to *deliver* them, or any one of them, up to Buonaparté, it is an assertion infinitely more

libellous than any thing published against them in the Moniteur: they were there accused of hiring assassins to kill Buonaparté, but here they are accused of meditating the commission of a crime, too cruel and too infamous to be described, a crime of a dye much deeper than that of cutting the throat of an infant after having rocked it to sleep: and, it is upon the supposition, that they were about to commit this crime, that the "*infernal machine*" (we mean the London press) calls upon the country, before hand, to "*applaud* their conduct"!

Of all the subjects we ever attempted to discuss, this is, in our estimation, by far the most interesting, as it immediately affects the tranquillity, the security, and even the lives of a band of the bravest, most loyal, and most faithful men that the world ever saw. We shall, therefore, resume it in our next, assuring our readers, in the mean time, that his Majesty's ministers have no intention to deliver these gentlemen, or any of them, up to Buonaparté; and if they had such an intention, we have no hesitation to say, that they could not do it without a total subversion of the laws of the land, without a complete annihilation of the authority of the courts of justice, and, of course, without putting the life of every man in the kingdom, whether native or foreigner, in jeopardy.

The situation of Mr. Peltier's affair is this: on the 28th of August, Mr. White, solicitor to the Treasury, sent a notification to De Boffe, the publisher of *L'Ambigu*, informing him, that he had the orders of the *Attorney-General* to prosecute the authors, printers, and publishers of the said work, and that, he submitted to Mr. De Boffe, whether, after this notification, it would be prudent in him to continue the sale of the offensive work. De Boffe, who is a Swiss, instantly stopped the sale at his house, and sent the prohibited ware home to the proprietor. Nothing further has yet been done; and, if Mr. Peltier refrains from attacks on Buonaparté, nothing we hope will be done. If our advice be of any weight with him, it is that he should so refrain. After ten years labour in the cause of monarchy against the infernal republicans, it would be very hard to be thrown into Newgate for the rest of his life. Besides, we doubt of the *policy* of attacking Buonaparté for his present acts in France. We think it somewhat inconsistent, that Mr. Peltier should at all unite with the republican journalists of London, the principal ground of whose

hatred to Buonaparté, is, that he has blasted, for ever and ever, the hopes of themselves and their rebellious supporters—As Englishmen, we would resist, we would attack Buonaparté, with fleets and with armies; and, were we Frenchmen, we would not attack him with a pen.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

War-Office, August 28.

- 1st Reg. of Dragoons, Lieut. Frederick Edw. Morrice to be Capt. Lieut. by purchase, vice Forster, promoted in the York Hussars. Cornet Geo. Hulton to be Lieut. vice Morrice.
- 15th Reg. of Light Dragoons, Lieut. Wm. Boothby, from the 20th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Barker, who exchanges.
- 16th Ditto, Surgeon Simon Rawling, from the 52d Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Preston, who exchanges.
- 18th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Lamont, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice O'Reilly, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
- 20th Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Barker, from the 15th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Boothby, who exchanges.
- 27th Ditto, Cornet Alured Fairlie Christie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stothart, removed to the 3d Foot Guards.
- York Hussars, Capt. Thos. Foster, from the 1st Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Wright, who retires.
- 29th Reg. of Foot, Lieut. James Stopford, from half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Holden, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
- 40th Ditto, Lieut. Chas. Renny, from half-pay of the 54th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Despard, who exchanges, receiving the difference.
- 42d Ditto, Hospital-Mate — Mackenzie to be Assistant Surgeon.
- 52d Ditto, Surgeon John Preston, from the 16th Light Dragoons, to be Surgeon, vice Rawling, who exchanges.
- 55th Ditto, Lieut. Mark Anthony Bozon, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase. Wm. Billingham, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Heyliger, promoted.
- 60th Ditto, Ensign John Kirwan, from the 52d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Prater, who retires.
- 63d Ditto, James Fairtlough, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Ker, removed to the 1st Foot Guards.
- 69th Ditto, Ensign John B. Phillipson, from the 60th Foot, to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Byrne, promoted in the 4th Foot.
- 83d Ditto, Ensign Alex. Campbell, from the 3d Foot Guards, to be Ensign, vice Parys, promoted.
- Garrisons.*—General Ralph Dundas to be Governor of Duncannon Fort, vice General Sir Robert Sloper, K. B. deceased.
- Memorandum.*—Assistant-Surgeon Geo. Cross, of the 1st Reg. of Dragoons, and Assistant-Surgeon John Boyce, of the 9th Reg. of Foot, are superseded, being absent without leave.

BANKRUPTS.

- Behenna, Rich. late of Penryn, Cornwall, maltster.
- Boulton, John, of St. Martin's-lane, Middlesex, upholder.
- Calderwood, John, of Clarence-place, Pentonville, Middlesex, wine merchant.
- Clark, Christopher, of Buckingham-street, Strand, victualler.
- Dance, John, late of Oxford-street, orange merchant.
- Emmott, John Henry, Browne, James, and Browne, Francis, of the Old Jewry, London, wine merchants.
- Fox, Jonathan, and Fox, William, of the Pavement, Finsbury, merchants.
- Gerforth, Thomas, of Bramhope, Otley, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.
- Harding, John, late of Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell, victualler.
- Heald, William, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, Heald, Timothy, of ditto, Heald, Richard Henry, of ditto, Heald, Joseph, of King-street, London, and Foster, Richard, of Wakefield, merchants.
- Jackman, James, of Exeter, linen-draper.
- Last, John, late of All Saints, South Elmham, Suffolk, shop-keeper.
- Mallinson, George, and Sheard, Josiah, of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, dyers.
- Naylor, William, of Liverpool, Lancashire, timber-merchant.
- Phelps, Samuel, late of Grosvenor-place, merchant.
- Pyne, Thos. of Southwark, victualler.
- Simpson, Daniel, late of Broad-street buildings, London, merchant.
- Stott, James, now or late of Macclesfield, Chester, inn-keeper.
- Turnbull, John, Forbes, John, Crawford, Rob. Allen, and Skene, David, of Broad-street, London, merchants.

BIRTHS.

- On Wednesday, at his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, the Lady of William Williams, Esq. of a son.
- On Monday the 16th instant, at Castle Eden, Mrs. Burdon, wife of Rowland Burdon, Esq. of a son and heir.
- On the 18th inst. at Stanmore, the Lady of Captain Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Royal Navy, of a son.
- The Lady of Captain Byron, of the Royal Navy, Stoke, Devon, of a son.
- On Friday the 20th inst. at Novar-House, the seat of Sir Hector Munro, K. B. the Lady of Colonel R. C. Ferguson, of a son.
- On Sunday, Lady Amherst, at his Lordship's Seat, at Montreal, in Kent, of a son.
- On Tuesday morning, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Wombwell, of a still-born child.
- On Wednesday the 25th inst. at Belmont, Bath, the Lady of Captain Wyke, 1st Foot Guards, of a daughter.
- On the 26th inst. the Lady of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Chester, of a son, being her thirteenth child.

MARRIAGES.

- On Wednesday last, by special license, in the Parish Church of Abergele, in North Wales, the Right

Hon. Lord Viscount Kirkwall, to the Hon. Miss Anna-Maria Plaquiere, eldest daughter of Lord de Plaquiere.

On the 12th inst. at Staveley, Yorkshire, John Wattson, Esq. of Bitton Park, to Miss Hannah Hartley, second daughter of the Rev. James Hartley, Rector of that place.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vandeleur, to Miss Elizabeth Croasdaile, of Ryan, in the Queen's County, Ireland.

On Saturday last, at Kensington, the Rev. J. F. Stuart, Rector of Lower Gravenhurst, to Miss Caroline Stiell, of Chelsea.

On Wednesday last, at the Church of St. Clement Danes, Lord Viscount Falkland, to Miss Anton.

On Wednesday last, at Stapleford, in Nottinghamshire, Captain Tedley, of the Coldstream Guards, to Miss Warren, only daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

DEATHS.

On the 26th of January last, at Bengal, Captain George Simpson, of the Earl of Mornington East-India Packet.

On Wednesday, at Worthing, Mrs. Francis Aveling, relict of the late Rev. Thos. Aveling, Rector of Milbrook and Henlow, Bedfordshire.

On Wednesday the 18th inst. at his seat at South Ormsby, Lincolnshire, Wm. Burrell Massingberd, Esq. in the 84th year of his age.

The same day, Edward Hippeley, Esq. of Isleworth, one of the Directors of the South Sea Company, aged 86.

Suddenly, a few days ago, while pronouncing the word Amen, at the close of a marriage ceremony, Edward Clarvis, Parish Clerk of Winttringham, in Lincolnshire.

On Thursday last, at Windsor Castle, Mrs. Ramsbottom, wife of James Ramsbottom, Esq. and youngest daughter of the Rev. F. Langford, Canon of Windsor.

On the 14th inst. at Lilliput, near Deal, Captain Winkworth, of the Navy.

On Wednesday evening, Mr. George Slemaker, Dean's-yard, aged 62.

At Poole, Mrs. Paulina Allen, wife of the Controller of the Customs at that place.

On Wednesday last, Charles Count Lockhart, son of the late General Count Lockhart, of the Roman Empire, distinguished for his bravery in the Imperial Service.

Suddenly, in his Chapel, on Sunday se'nnight, the Rev. Mr. Turner, Minister of a Roman Catholic Congregation at Morpeth.

Last week, in Ireland, Lady Glentworth, relict of the late Lord Bishop of Limerick, and Dowager Viscountess Southwell.

At Biggar, on the 10th instant, the Rev. Robert Paterson, Minister of the Relief Congregation there.

On the 28th ult. at Southampton, Lady Jane Terry, sister to the Earl of Dysart.

On Thursday last, at Hales-place, near Canterbury, after a few days illness, in the 78th year of his age, Sir Edward Hales, Bart.

At Inveresk, on Monday the 23d ult. Miss Marion Dalrymple, second daughter of the deceased David Dalrymple, Esq. of Westhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	184½	—	—	—	—	182½
3 pr. C.R. An.	—	68½	68	68½	—	—
3 pr C. Con.	67½	68½	67½	67½	—	67½
4 pr C. Cons.	86	86½	86½	85½	—	86
5 pr Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20½	20½	02½	20½	—	20½
D ^o S. 1778 & 9	5	4½	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 pr Ct.	—	—	—	—	—	67½
D ^o Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	12½
5 pr Ct. 1797	—	—	102	102	—	103½
Omnium ...	9 dis	9 dis	10½ di	9½ di	—	9½ di
India Stock..	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o Bonds....	—	—	—	—	—	—
S.-Sea Stock.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D ^o New....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Ct. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. Navy Bills	99½	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d ^o	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr Ct	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lot. Tickets.	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 30 c.
American eight per cents. 111½.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 10 18½ 2 us.	LEGHORN 51½
D ^o , at sight 10 16½	NAPLES..... 44½
ROTTERDAM 10 19½ 2 us.	GENOA 47½
HAMBURG... 33 3 2½ us.	VENICE, 56½ livres piccole
ALTONA 33 4 2½ us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day 23 8	LISBON..... 67
PARIS.... 23 16 2us.	OPORTO 67½
BOURDEAUX, 23 16	DUBLIN..... 12½
CADIZ in paper	BILBOA..... 36½ D ^o
DITTO 36½ eff.	PALERMO
MADRID .. in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.
DITTO 36½ effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Eng. Wheat per q.	45	to 66	Hops per cwt...	120	to 210
Foreign.....	00	.. 00	Hay per load....	80	.. 157
Rye.....	30	.. 33	Beef, per stone....	4s.	4d.
Barley.....	31	.. 35	to 5s. 0d.		
Malt.....	46	.. 52	Mutton 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d.		
Oats.....	14	.. 23	Veal 4s. 6d. to 6s. 4d.		
Pease (white)....	38	.. 42	Pork.... 5s. 6d. to 7s. 0d.		
Beans (horse)....	35	.. 38	Tallow 3s. 9d.		
Flour per sack ..	50	.. 53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	45	.. 50	per cwt. 33s. 4½d.		
Coals per chal....	36	.. 41	Salt, per Bushel 14s. 4d.		
Bread Ten Pence the Quarter Loaf.					

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,
near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Months of August and
September, 1802.

Days.	M's age	Weather.	Winds.		Barom. Inch.		Ther. Deg.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
26		Fair. Sho.	W	W	29,9	29,95	61	65
27		Clo. Fair.	SW	SW	31	30	61	65
28	●	Clo. Fair.	SW	NW	32	32	66	72
29		Fine.	S	S	32	32	67	73
30		Fog. Fine.	S	S	30,7	31	65	76
31		Cloudy.	SE	SE	30	30	64	66
1		Fine.	E	E	29,5	29,5	64	66